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THE CULTURES OF THE TOPHET
Identification and Identity in the Phoenician Diaspora

In 310 B.C.E. Agathocles of Syracuse besieged the Tyrian colony of Carthage. Diodorus reports the reaction in the city:

> The Carthaginians . . . because they believed that Heracles, who aids colonists, was exceedingly angry with them . . . sent a large sum of money and many of their most expensive offerings to Tyre. After having come to that city as colonists, it had been their custom in earlier times to send to the god a tenth of all that was paid into the public revenue; but later, when they had acquired great wealth, and were receiving more considerable revenues, they sent very little indeed, holding the divinity of little account.[1]

Greco-Roman sources give other glimpses of Carthage's ongoing colonial relationship with Tyre and with its patron god Melqart (Greek Heracles). Elissa herself brought the god's *sacra*—cult articles—with her from Tyre when she founded the city;[2] in the sixth century the Carthaginians were sending a tithe of their profits of war to Tyre;[3] at the end of the fifth century they donated a statue of Apollo taken as booty to their mother city;[4] and even though Diodorus suggests that there had been some neglect of this relationship in the years leading up to 310, when Alexander besieged Tyre in 332 he found *theoroi* from Carthage there to celebrate the annual "reawakening" (*egersis*) of Melqart.[5] In the mid-second century Carthage was still sending a boat to Tyre with the first fruits.[6] Although Carthage was the model of a globalized Mediterranean city by the Hellenistic period, with a mixed population, a cosmopolitan culture, and a vast network of trading and diplomatic relations across the sea and desert,[7] it still preserved significant institutional and religious connections with its mother city.[8]

Sending a tithe to Tyre was not, however, the only custom that the Carthaginians supposedly returned to under siege, nor was Melqart the only god. Diodorus again provides an account:

> They also alleged that Kronos had turned against them inasmuch as in former times they had been accustomed to sacrifice to this god the noblest of their sons, but more recently, secretly buying and nurturing children, they had sent these to the sacrifice; and when an investigation was made, some of those who had been sacrificed were discovered to have been substituted by stealth. . . . In their zeal to make amends for the omission, they selected two hundred of the noblest children and sacrificed them publicly; and others who were under suspicion sacrificed themselves voluntarily, in number not less than three hundred. There was in the city a bronze image of Kronos, extending its hands, palms up and sloping towards the ground, so that each of the children when placed thereon rolled down and fell into a sort of gaping pit filled with fire.[9]

Diodorus's vivid description of the votive rite to Baal (Greek Kronos, Roman Saturn) is unlikely to be realistic, and his figures are surely exaggerated. Indeed, this particular event may never have happened.[10] Diodorus is not, however, the only source for such rites; a variety of Greco-Roman writers over a long period of time denounce the practice of child sacrifice at Carthage and in other Phoenician cities and colonies[11] and claim that, despite the efforts of the Romans, it still existed in areas of Africa well into the imperial period.[12]

Since the nineteenth century, these stories have been associated with the open-air votive sanctuaries found in central Mediterranean sites associated with the Phoenician diaspora, including Carthage and Hadrumetum in Africa as well as Sulcis, Nora, Tharros, and Monte Sirai on Sardinia, Mozia on Sicily, and Rabat on Malta. Urns containing the cremated remains of infants and animals are buried in these "tophets"[13] and in most cases their surfaces are littered with stone markers.[14] Where these have inscriptions (in Punic), it is clear that they commemorate votive acts: a typical one from Carthage, for instance, reads: "To Lady Tinnit face of Baal and to Lord Baal Hammon [the thing] that Safatus dedicated, son of Adonibaal the sufet, son of Hamilcat the sufet; because they heard his voice."[15]

As Corinne Bonnet argues in this volume, the evidence for a range of practices at Carthage and other tophets suggests that the question of their function cannot be reduced to a stark choice between infant cemeteries, as is now often suggested, and regular, large-scale child sacrifice.[16] Nonetheless, even if the children buried in these sanctuaries had not been sacrificed, or if that were only an occasional aspect of the rites observed there, it is clear that they were important ritual and votive centers for the communities involved. As a complement to Bonnet's synchronic investigation of the role of these Carthaginian rites in the preservation and reconstruction of colonial ties with Tyre, I want to look here at how the visual culture of the tophet changes over time. My central question is how individual choices about the form and decoration of the votive markers relate to the ongoing construction of collective identities in this diaspora context and then, much more briefly, beyond it. Before trying to answer this question, however, I should say a few words about why a tophet is a good place to ask about the construction of diasporic identity.

Tophets in western Phoenician settlements were closely associated with the community's colonial origins and as such with their diasporic status.[17] This is particularly visible at Carthage, where there were strong continuities with cremation and burial practice at Phoenician cemeteries.[18] While the better-known Greek pottery from the sanctuary dates from around 750 B.C.E., the earliest Phoenician pottery found there has ninth-century parallels in the Near East, pointing to a rather earlier date, perhaps around the time of the foundation itself.[19] The sanctuary type

and/or the rites may even have been imported by the first colonists along with Melqart's cult articles:[20] although no tophets have been securely identified in the Levant,[21] it seems very likely that child sacrifice existed in the region, albeit to the great disapproval of those who mention it in the Hebrew Bible.[22] Curtius Rufus describes an intriguing attempt to "revive" the custom of sacrificing a freeborn boy to Saturn during Alexander's siege of Tyre in 332.[23] This was successfully opposed by the city elders, but, if the story is reliable, it would seem that the Tyrians themselves accepted a link between contemporary Western rites (or reputed rites) and their own past practice in this respect.[24]

Tophets were also collective institutions, even if we set aside the dubious Greco-Roman descriptions of mass civic rites. Although the inscriptions on the tophet markers suggest that offerings were usually made by, and for the benefit of, individual parents, there were also large-scale "public works" that suggest that the sanctuary was administered, whether by religious or civil authorities.[25] At Carthage, for example, there were periodic resurfacings of the sanctuary, a large-scale extension to the west at a certain point,[26] the creation of a *favissa* (a pit for the redeposit of cult material) in order to free up space,[27] and the preservation of service roads.[28] Sandro Filippo Bondì has noted that at Carthage several of the votive inscriptions contain the phrase "by decree of the people of Carthage" (perhaps granting a particular individual access to the sanctuary) and that in other cities the wall circuits tend to show unusual respect for their tophets; he has suggested on these bases a close link between tophets and civic structures. He points out that the sanctuaries appear only in independent cities and not in secondary settlements such as Monte Sirai on Sardinia, which was dependent on Sulcis from the seventh century until it gained its independence—and its tophet—in the fourth century.[29]

So tophets not only played an important part in the ongoing construction of the relationship between the colony and the mother city, along with the annual embassies and extraordinary gifts, but they also were collective civic spaces. Religion, death, family, and community came together in the tophets in a way that gave them a peculiar power to construct and convey cultural identities for their users.[30] Any communal cultural identity will of course be only one of multiple identities adopted (all the time, temporarily, or intermittently) by any one of the individuals involved in the construction, but it is the shared experience of building this particular shared identity that matters to me here.

How then does this construction of communal identity work? Not, I suggest, by asserting difference from and superiority to "others," in the long scholarly tradition of *Inventing the Barbarian* in order to reinvent oneself,[31] but by creating and reinforcing identifications with cultural symbolism and practice elsewhere, within and beyond the Phoenician diaspora. This theory of identification has much in common with the "points of identification" invoked in a classic essay by Stuart Hall on diaspora identity in the islands of the Caribbean, where he argues that "cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture . . . within the discourses of history and culture";[32] I also hope to show, with the help of the evidence from Carthage and other African tophets, that there is a crucial difference between identification *with* and identification *as*—that is, that the identifications with other peoples and places made in tophet sanctuaries do not necessarily involve claims to their political, ethnic, or communal identities.

The tophet at Carthage was discovered in 1921 when a French functionary interested in archaeology trailed a well-known local stele salesman to his clandestine excavation just outside the city wall.[33] It is not only the biggest but also the earliest tophet we know of: as noted above, deposits of cinerary urns in the sanctuary start in the eighth or even ninth century and they continue at least until the destruction of the city in 146.[34] In her landmark résumé of the archival material and preliminary reports from the various excavations that have taken place since then—none fully published—Hélène Bénichou-Safar discusses the site in terms of four separate chronological phases, between which systematic breaks and resurfacings allow a new layer of deposits in the crowded sanctuary (fig. 1).[35] This phasing allows us to trace the development of the markers, the permanent public commemoration of the votive act, whose forms, iconography, and inscriptions will be my main focus here.

The sequence of marker-types can be seen in figure 1. In the earliest phase (800–675/650) the few markers that have been recognized tend to be roughly worked blocks of local sandstone.[36] In phase 2 (675/650–550/525), these are joined by more articulated monuments, often called "cippi," including geometric forms, L-shaped "thrones" and, especially, small shrines, or "naiskoi," which make up about half the markers in this period.[37] There is a greater variety of markers in phase 3

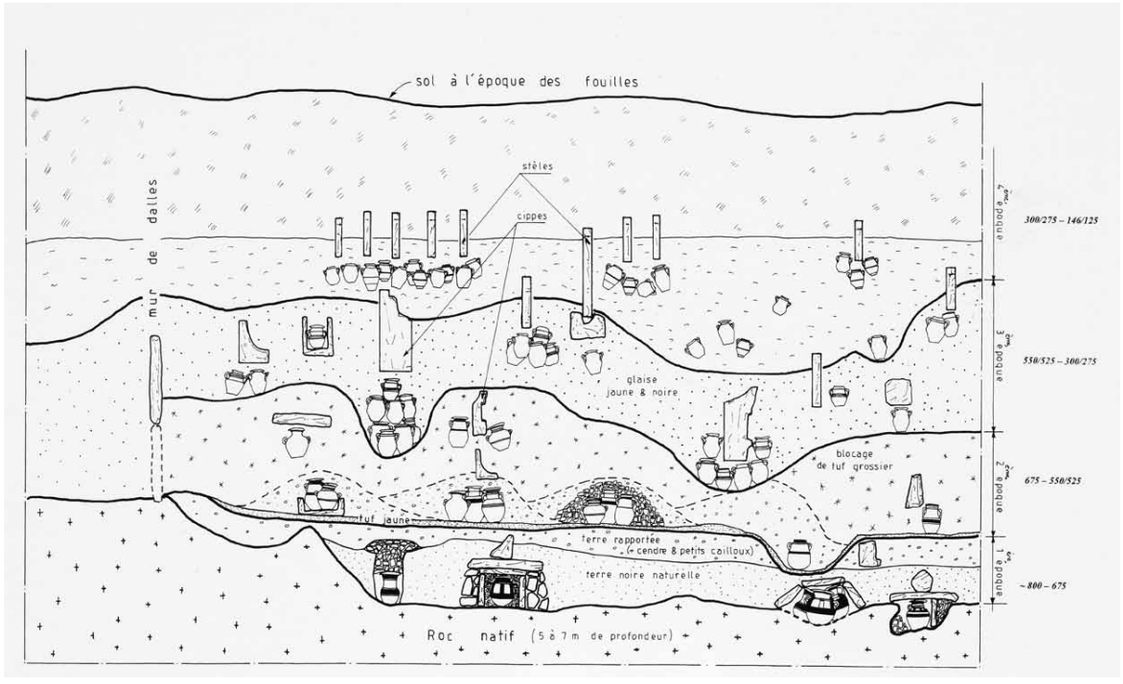


Fig. 1
The four phases of the Carthage tophet, with examples of typical marker-types

(550/525–300/275), including obelisks and pillars, alongside more elaborate thrones and naiskoi. The first markers in the form of vertical slabs, sometimes called stelai, appear around the middle of the fourth century.[38] Limestone begins to be used for the markers in the early fourth century, and in the last phase (300/275–146/125), all the markers are stelai of gray limestone.[39] Of circa 10,000 markers altogether,[40] 629 sandstone examples from phases 1 through 3 have been described and cataloged by Piero Bartoloni,[41] and 612 in limestone from phases 3 and 4 by Shelby Brown.[42] These catalogs usefully, if not rigidly, distinguish two main stages in the visual culture of the sanctuary, which in Greco-Roman terms more or less match up with the archaic to classical periods on the one hand, and the Hellenistic period on the other, with the break between them coming in the fourth century, toward the end of Bénichou-Safar's phase 3. I will look at these two stages in turn.

The markers used from the seventh to the fourth centuries demonstrate clear identifications with the homeland in this period, although they rarely reproduce Eastern phenomena in a straightforward manner. The worked stones and pillars find various parallels in the Phoenician cities and the Near East more generally.[43] Dressed stones are found in Levantine ritual contexts such as the second-millennium Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos and the recently published Iron Age cemetery at Tyre;[44] a little later, in the sixth through fourth centuries, they mark tombs at Akhziv.[45] At Kition, two pillars built of small ashlar blocks with rubble fill seem to date from the Phoenician sanctuary's ninth-century origins.[46] Herodotus claims to have seen two monumental stelai at the Temple of Melqart in Tyre, one of refined gold and the other of emerald, which presumably represent the same phenomenon.[47] The huge quantity found at Carthage, however, the great *variety* of forms in one sanctuary, and their function there as markers or souvenirs of a votive deposit rather than as cult objects or grave markers all seem to differ from Eastern practice.

The next major forms to appear at Carthage, the L-shaped "throne" and the simple naiskos, also have earlier parallels at Tyre.[48] In both cases, however, the Western forms are much more developed, and there are far more of them. Conversely, clear Levantine precedents for the complex "Egyptianizing" naiskoi that begin to appear in Carthage (and many other Western tophets) in the sixth century (fig. 2) are not attested,[49] though parallels have plausibly been seen in a series of five even more complex funerary shrines found in Sidon (figs. 3, 4), traditionally dated to the fifth century. Anna Maria Bisi suggested an earlier dating on the basis of Phoenician iconographic parallels,[50] but since none of the Sidonian naiskoi was found in context, a one-way influence of East on West in this context cannot be certain. Turning from forms to iconography, however, the sun disks and uraeus friezes of these naiskoi do offer a good example of the "Egyptianizing" motifs that had been popular in the Levant long before they became a distinctive feature of the Carthage tophet in the sixth through fourth centuries. In this way the Carthaginians demonstrated their ongoing cultural ties to the homeland while also participating in the Levantine identification with a different, ancient, and high-status culture.

There are also non-Egyptian iconographic motifs at Carthage in this early stage with clear (if much scarcer) precedents in the East. The so-called Sign of Tanit,[51] which dates back at least to the late sixth century at the tophet and occurs

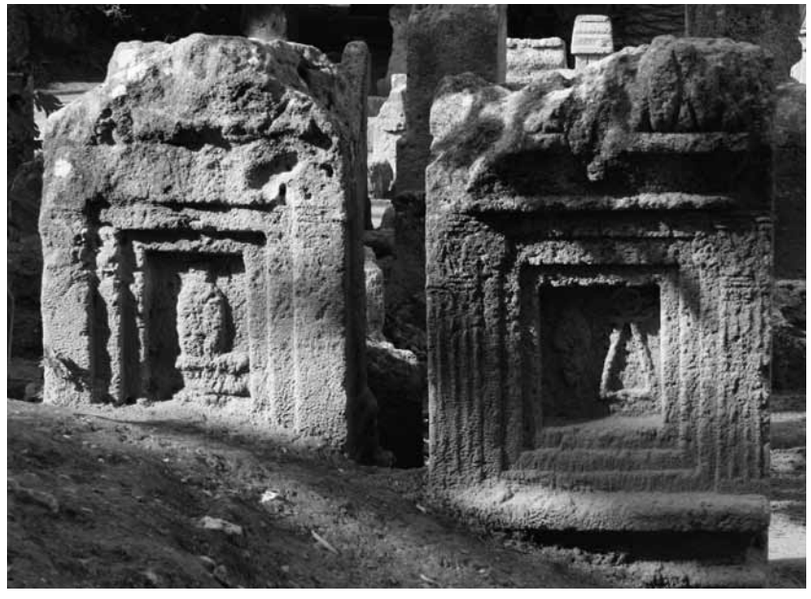


Fig. 2
Naiskoi from the Carthage tophet
Left: bottle idol within multiple frames. Right: lozenge and Sign of Tanit within multiple frames, below an Egyptianizing cornice

Figs. 3, 4
Two examples of the series of naiskoi from Sidon, traditionally dated to the 5th century
Paris, Musée du Louvre, AO 4904, 2060

Fig. 5
Naiskos from the Carthage tophet, with the Sign of Tanit and a crescent-disk within multiple frames

Fig. 6
Naiskos from the Carthage tophet, with a woman holding a disk to her chest within multiple frames below an Egyptianizing cavetto cornice

Fig. 7
Naiskos from the Carthage tophet, with a pillar within multiple frames below a cavetto cornice with a disk

on 5 percent of the sandstone markers cataloged by Bartoloni (fig. 5; see fig. 2), is found in the Phoenician cities from the ninth century to at least the third.[52] Similarly, among the human figures that appear on 6 percent of the sandstone markers, there are nine examples of a woman with a disk at her chest (fig. 6) who has Mesopotamian origins and appears in Palestine in the first half of the first millenium B.C.E. and then on the island of Cyprus in the sixth century, though always in terra-cotta.[53]

In the case of another symbol, however, transmission from West to East rather than vice versa seems plausible. As well as appearing in their own right in the tophet, among other geometric forms, pillars are by far the most common motif on the sandstone markers from phase 2 (seventh through sixth centuries) onward, represented on 179 (29 percent) of those cataloged by Bartoloni (fig. 7).[54] Although pillars, obelisks, and other worked stones themselves can be found in the East from an early date, as discussed above, representations of them on other media there, such as coinage, all postdate the same phenomenon at Carthage.[55] At the same time, other popular symbols such as the lozenge and bottle idol, which both appear

relatively early at Carthage in various forms (12 percent and 13 percent of the sample, respectively), seem to be confined to the West.[56] Only one example of the bottle idol has ever been found in the East, on an undated stele from Akhziv,[57] and none of the lozenge.

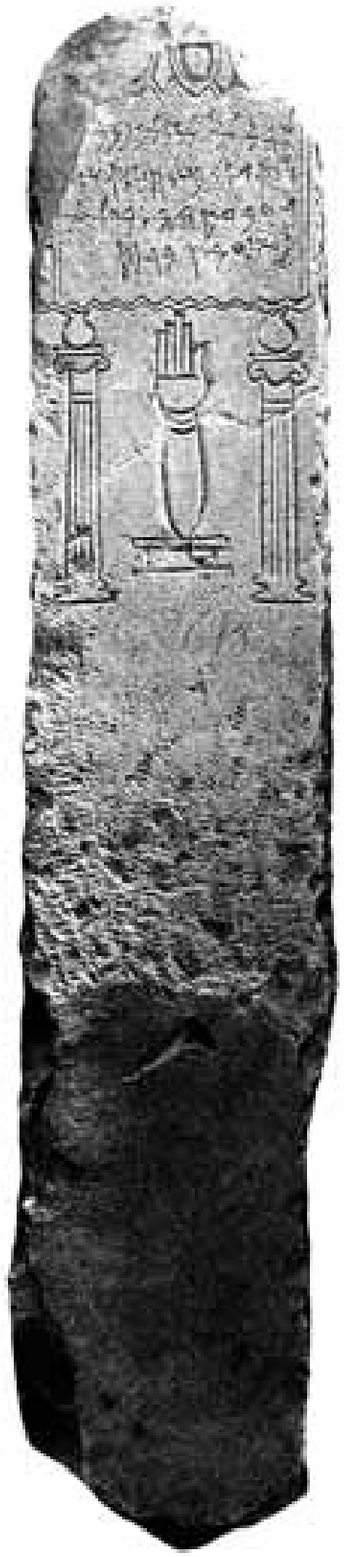
The diaspora context is important here. Stuart Hall argued that in a diaspora "our relation to [the past], like the child's relation to the mother, is always-already 'after the break'" framed simultaneously by "the vector of similarity and continuity, and the vector of difference and rupture . . . The one gives us some grounding in, some continuity with, the past. The second reminds us that what we share is precisely the experience of a profound discontinuity."[58] These simultaneous frames of continuity and rupture clearly influence the forms and iconography of the markers, but they can also be seen in the divinities invoked in the inscriptions that begin to appear on them in the sixth century. The god identified as the recipient of the offerings is not Melqart, though he was still an important deity at Carthage,[59] but (as Diodorus knew) Baal Hammon, joined from the fifth century by Tinnit.[60] These gods are not inventions of the diaspora, since there are scattered earlier references to both in the Near East. They also have limited popularity in the Levant as components of personal names, with references to Tinnit found, in particular, in and around Sidon.[61] References in the East, however, end in the sixth century for Baal Hammon and the fifth century for Tinnit—just as they begin to be found in the West. An inscription from Carthage—not from the tophet—gives another angle

on the colonial (re)construction of Tinnit in particular, describing her as *BLBNN,* which seems to mean "of Lebanon."[62] This suggests that even if she was not in fact an important goddess there, her Eastern origins were seen at least by this individual as an important part of her identity in the West. The gods of the tophet then looked both backward and forward, identifying with the homeland, but at the same time making a new and better life in the West, just as the colonists themselves were trying to do.

The picture before the fourth century, then, is that the tophet markers identify with the traditions of the homeland, innovate upon them, and in some cases start from scratch: indeed, the tophet itself may be an example of the latter phenomenon. It seems that while the sandstone markers made identifications with earlier monuments in the Near East through their forms and iconography, they often borrowed relatively rare phenomena and adapted them without reproducing their precise details or functions. It also seems that the relationship of the tophet's visual culture with the Levant in this period was dynamic rather than fossilized: the popularity of Egyptianizing forms and iconography in both East and West, the use in both places of motifs such as the Sign of Tanit as well as what look like borrowings in both directions, show the visual cultures of the two Phoenician worlds in dialogue. Their shared cultural milieu is particularly apparent in the sixth to fifth centuries, a period in which, despite (or perhaps because of) the pressures of meeting Persian tribute demands, economic relations between Phoenicia and Cyprus, Egypt and the western colonies intensified after a lull of about a century.[63] This was also a period in which Sidon was preeminent among the cities of the Levant. The fact that the naiskoi and most Levantine references to Tinnit are found at Sidon rather than (as with the earlier dressed stones) at Tyre may point to new identifications in the "Persian" period between originally Tyrian colonies or settlers in the West and the new power in the Levant.

The visual culture of the tophet shifts and broadens significantly in the fourth century. The introduction of vertical slabs as markers clearly postdates the appearance of the same form in the Levant and Cyprus, but Eastern examples well into the Hellenistic period tend to reproduce the version traditional in Ugarit and Mesopotamia where the top of the slab is rounded (fig. 8).[64] At Carthage, by contrast, gables and, increasingly, acroteria were the norm (fig. 9; see Corinne Bonnet's essay, this volume, fig. 2), which made a clearer identification with Greek visual culture.[65] A popular subtype of the slab form in the tophet, however, depicting the naiskoi that the slabs effectively replaced, appears to have been largely a western Mediterranean phenomenon, though one example with multiple frames was found at the Kouklia sanctuary at Old Paphos on Cyprus, destroyed by the Persians in 498 (see fig. 10).[66]

As noted above, limestone began to be used for the markers around the same time as the slab form was introduced and (no doubt for practical reasons) rapidly became more popular than the more friable sandstone, taking over completely in the final phase. The limestone markers cataloged by Brown have abandoned the representation of pillars and tend to avoid bottle idols as well, which appear on only 4.5 percent of the markers as opposed to 13 percent in Bartoloni's catalog;[67] the most



Clockwise from top left

Fig. 8
Marker from the Kouklia sanctuary at Old Paphos on Cyprus, destroyed by the Persians in 498 B.C.E. Note the rounded top traditional in the Near East

Fig. 9
Limestone marker in the form of a vertical slab from the Carthage tophet, with an inscription above a hand flanked by Ionic columns supporting round vessels

Fig. 10
Marker from the Kouklia sanctuary at Old Paphos on Cyprus, destroyed by the Persians in 498 B.C.E. Note the multiple frames

common symbols in the Hellenistic period are the Sign of Tanit (48 percent versus 5.5 percent in Bartoloni's catalog) and the crescent-disk combination (27 percent versus 5 percent) as well as the new motifs of the hand (31 percent) and caduceus (35 percent) (see fig. 9 and Corinne Bonnet's essay, this volume, fig. 2). These symbols all make identifications with the homeland; indeed, they tend to adhere more closely to better-known Eastern forms and motifs than did the iconography of the earlier period. The crescent-disk has Mesopotamian, Levantine, and Cypriot parallels from the third millennium onward,[68] and the hand, perhaps apotropaic, is very common in the Near East with the first examples found in the Bronze Age, such as at Hazor.[69] The caduceus appears at the Carthage tophet in a distinctively Phoenician form and without the serpents and wings common in Greek examples; this version is found on seals, scarabs, and stelai in Phoenician and other eastern Mediterranean contexts from at least the eighth century B.C.E.[70] It becomes a symbol particularly closely associated with Carthage in the West, frequently featured on the city's coinage[71] and found only very rarely outside Africa.[72] It is striking that all three of these symbols occur on slab form markers in the East as well, and so the Carthaginians in this period import not only the symbol but also the medium from the East; whether they also appropriate the message, or significance, of the motif is an open question.

Alongside this new "Phoenicianism," however, and as with the forms, this is also a period in which the iconography looks to the broader Mediterranean.[73] The markers feature elements of Greek ritual symbolism such as *lekythoi* (oil flasks) and *kantheroi* (drinking cups); Greek moldings, borders, and capitals; and Etruscan and other Italic motifs such as freestanding columns supporting round vessels (see fig. 9).[74] The precise origins of the motifs no doubt mattered little to those who adopted and adapted them, if they even knew what they were: by themselves, origins *explain* little.[75] What matters here is not that "Greek" or "Etruscan" motifs are being borrowed, but that the visual culture of the tophet is for the first time open to a world beyond home and the homeland. Even in the religious context of the sanctuary, a significant proportion of these Hellenistic-period markers celebrate what seems to be a peculiarly culturally specific rite in the cosmopolitan symbolic language of the globalized Mediterranean, in whose commercial and cultural networks Carthaginians were very much at home.[76] To borrow Hall's words again, diasporas are defined "by a concept of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference . . . Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference."[77] This was true of the tophet from the start, but the horizons of difference were getting wider.

Openness to other peoples and cultures is in fact a core aspect of Carthaginian culture and identity in the Hellenistic period. As well as the reality of cultural and ethnic interaction in the city, including the famous examples of the mixed marriages contracted by Sophonisba and by Hannibal, the tophet itself has a very significant number of dedications by non-Carthaginians (or their descendants), including Sards,[78] a "noblewoman of Eryx" (in Sicily),[79] Egyptians,[80] and a woman called Euklea who inscribes her name in Greek letters.[81]

It is also built into one of the foundation legends told about Carthage, in which Elissa's boat picks up a priest and eighty girls from Cyprus on the way from Tyre, so

that her colonists will have wives.[82] This may of course be another external invention, but a hint that identifications even beyond the Phoenician world could be a valuable aspect of personal identity at Carthage is found in a late inscription from the tophet that lists sixteen generations of the sacrificer's ancestors, where the first is a "Misry," or "Egyptian."[83] This unusual strategy—normally at most two generations of ancestors are listed—suggests that the dedicator intended to list a genealogy (real or invented) going back to the foundation of the colony, indeed to "prove" that the family predated the city.[84] It would be very striking for a dedicator to advertise his first Carthaginian ancestor not only as non-Tyrian but as non-Levantine, albeit of an ethnicity of immense status and antiquity.

The people who set up markers in the Carthage tophet constructed individual and communal cultural identity throughout the city's history by adapting a variety of sources, including the Levant (past and present), Egypt, and in the Hellenistic period the Greco-Italic world. This need not, of course, imply any kind of Greek, Italian, or Egyptian ethnic identity on the part of the tophet community, or even a close relationship with those peoples. Indeed, the fourth century saw the hardening of opposition between Carthage and Greek states in Sicily, from the Battle of Himera in 397 to Agathocles' siege of Carthage in 310. Making identifications with other peoples and places, epigraphic or visual, does not weaken the Carthaginians' own cultural identities but adds to them, adds to their status, and clarifies their status *as* diaspora identities. This point should also make us wary of assuming that the cultural identities under constant construction in the Carthage tophet were Phoenician (or Punic): as is well known, corporate "Phoenician" identity was an external invention of the Greeks, while there are no certain examples of these people themselves using the words *Phoenician, Punic,* or any equivalent corporate concepts.[85]

What all this does imply, however, is an increasingly strong cultural identity as a community, something that is also suggested by the standardization of the overall physical appearance of the sanctuary. During phase 3 (550/525–300/275), a visitor would have been confronted with a variety of types of monument scattered over the surface of the tophet, building up over a couple of centuries before the sanctuary was resurfaced.[86] (Fig. 11 may give a flavor of the effect.) In the final phase, by contrast, with limestone stelai used to the exclusion of all other markers,[87] the sanctuary would have presented a much more uniform and therefore communal appearance. Furthermore, the iconography of the few markers from the fourth layer found in context suggest that the bottle idol and the crescent-disk become less popular in the last phase, the Sign of Tanit rather more so, and the caduceus—the symbol most closely associated with Carthage in particular—much more so.[88] The final phases of the tophet, the Punic War years, saw a turn to both self and mother.

It also seems that the tophet was open to an increasing range of Carthaginians in this period. Brown has argued that by categorizing and comparing her sample of 612 stelai in terms of form and iconography, it is possible to distinguish a group of thicker (7 to 12 centimeters), taller markers, which used a wide range of motifs, from a group of thinner (5 centimeters or less) and smaller ones, which are more standardized and less well cut, prepared, and carved, and tend to depict a more

limited range of core symbols: the Sign of Tanit, the caduceus, the hand, and the crescent-disk.[89] The latter also tend to lack motifs indicating status or profession.[90] Brown interpreted this distinction chronologically, putting the thicker markers in phase 3 and the thinner ones in phase 4, and then explained the change in terms of the poverty of the city at the time of the Punic wars. However, recent excavations and new pottery studies show that this was in fact a time of prosperity, trade, and construction in the city, with ever increasing imports and exports, a new quarter built around the Byrsa hill, and a new military harbor.[91] Besides this, there is no evidence that the thicker markers stopped being produced in the tophet's final phase of use: while the thinner markers are found only in phase 4 contexts and so do seem to be a late development, the average thickness of the ninety-nine phase 4 markers excavated by François Icard in 1922 was 9.5 centimeters—well within the range of Brown's "thick" group, and exactly the same as that of the twenty markers in the phase 3 context below.[92] Another indication that the production of thicker slabs continued into this period is that although markers with acroteria begin to appear only at the very end of phase 3,[93] about half of the "thick" examples in Brown's sample have acroteria.

It appears then that markers of a wider range of qualities and (so) costs than before were being produced in phase 4, and therefore that the sanctuary was being used by people from a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds, in addition to the "ethnic" diversity discussed above. This fits in with the evidence of the inscriptions, which date very largely to the fourth century and afterward and which record a huge range of professions and positions, from rabs (priests) and sufets (chief magistrates) to butchers and metal workers as well as freedmen and even slaves.[94] It is also worth noting that the variety, quality, and size of the urns decreases significantly in phase 4.[95] This development might relate politically to what Lancel labeled the "democratic evolution" of the city in the late fourth and third centuries[96] and on an economic level to the shift from extensive to intensive agricultural production on the part of a greater number of relatively small-scale producers suggested by the dramatic rise in sites in the hinterland of Carthage from nine in the fourth century to fifty in the third and second.[97] At the same time, however, the wider range of motifs in use on the thicker stelai reinforces the class-based, cosmopolitan cultural identity of the more elite dedicants within and alongside an increasingly cohesive civic identity, in the production of which they also participate: class identity and community identity reinforce each other without overlapping completely.

Fig. 11
A variety of markers from the Carthage tophet, including thrones, naiskoi, and slabs, in sandstone and limestone, now visible inside the later Roman cistern

This internal, aggregative construction of a stronger sense of communal identity involving more of the community and based in and on the tophet, however, suggests another mode of identification with the Greco-Roman Mediterranean—not an identification with its visual culture, but with its literary and political discourse, which by the Hellenistic period had positioned the Carthaginians firmly within negative regimes of representation.[98] In particular, child sacrifice, especially in its bloodier versions, tends to be specifically associated with Carthage in Greek and Roman sources, going back to Cleitarchus in the fourth century.[99] The increasing Carthaginian focus on the tophet as a crucial site for constructing communal identity reproduces and reinforces this new external stereotype, and we see here the negative side of cultural identity—what Hall has described as "otherness as an inner compulsion."[100] The tophet was something that made the Carthaginians different in others' eyes, and in the period of the Punic wars it seems that the Carthaginians embraced that.

What, finally, of local identifications, beyond the Carthaginian community itself? Despite the city's openness to other cultures, an important feature of Carthage's foundation legend as preserved in Justin's epitomes of Pompeius Trogus involves the explicit rejection of intermarriage with the local Libyan population: Elissa killed herself rather than marry the local king Hiarbas.[101] Whether or not this is a story that the Carthaginians themselves told, it is certainly true that in contrast to Greek and Phoenician motifs, the "local" is conspicuous by its absence from the tophet throughout its history. Despite the presence of a Libyan population in the city, and indeed among the dedicants at the tophet,[102] in the sanctuary's visual culture Libya is just a space of encounter between other cultures and cultural identities.[103] The tophet was a showcase for the new directions taken by the new community in a neutral, artificially delocalized colonial space and a reification of the diaspora experience of rupture alongside continuity.

Going beyond the specific case study of the Carthage tophet, my basic thesis here has been that the construction of communal identities can be accomplished through points of identification with cultural discourse and practice elsewhere, past

and present, rather than by highlighting differences from others—though the self-identification with the Greco-Roman stereotype proposed above would suggest that differentiation can sometimes be the effect. I have also argued that these identifications with other peoples and places do not necessarily imply identification *as* them, a false move made in too many cultural identity models, most egregiously that of Romanization, where the form of the word itself implies that by adopting or referencing the material culture of the Romans, whether by choice or compulsion, one becomes Roman oneself.[104] The illogicality of such a move can be seen in the Carthaginian appeal to Greek models and fashions at a time of profound enmity between Carthage and several Greek states, but it is more vividly illustrated by the other sanctuaries found in "Libyan" or "Numidian" settlements all over North Africa that reproduce various aspects of the "Punic" tophets, including the markers and in some cases at least the cremation and burial of infants.[105] It is with a brief glance at these that I will end.

There are about thirty-five African sanctuaries of this type, dating to the third century B.C.E. or later, sometimes considerably later; in most cases the markers have been found out of context, though sometimes the site itself is also known. The extent of economic, political, and cultural interaction between North African communities means that the ethnic labels imposed on them by modern scholarship are not easy to distinguish on the ground,[106] but it is safe to say that these settlements are at least for the most part not ethnically or politically Carthaginian—the latter not least because most of the evidence dates from after the fall of Carthage. In their different ways these communities borrow, adapt, develop, and on occasion reject the themes of the Carthage tophet in much the same way as the Carthaginians treated the culture of their homeland in constructing the visual culture of their own tophet.[107] The markers are almost all vertical slabs of various sizes and shapes, often with gables, as in the late stage at Carthage, though not many acroteria. The iconography tends to reproduce the most popular motifs from Carthage, but with very few of the more cosmopolitan motifs from the Greco-Italic world found there. Where there are inscriptions, they are in Punic and preserve much of the standard formula found at Carthage, but Tinnit is much less popular than in that city, only ever occuring in association with Baal Hammon, who appears more often on his own. The inscriptions also preserve records of collective dedications by groups who identify themselves as citizens of, for instance, Dougga, Maktar, and Mididi, and at Cirta as Numidian tribal chiefs,[108] suggesting that ritual practice could vary significantly from that of Carthage, even where the visual culture seems very similar.

The recently excavated sanctuary at Henchir el-Hami, where offerings were made from at least the first century B.C.E. to the second century C.E., is of particular importance due to the quality of information that we now possess and provides a good example of the genre.[109] The few inscriptions attest Libyan, Phoenician, and Latin names within the same families, with the only certain Libyan one appearing in the older generation:[110] it seems that this is a Libyan community in which children are increasingly being given foreign names. Given that, the ashes of children of six months or younger in more than three-quarters of the 268 urns so far examined from the site is a startling piece of evidence for the mobility and flexibility

of cultural identification in ancient North Africa.[111] As with the other sanctuaries, there is both identification with the Carthage tophet and variation on its themes.[112] Three Punic inscriptions record offerings to Baal Hammon, in the standard phrasing found at Carthage, but there is no reference to Tinnit; gables seem to be the norm on the fifty-eight stelai recovered, but there are no acroteria; and the iconography of the markers includes the Sign of Tanit, the caduceus, pillars, human figures, crescents, and disks as well as fruit, grain, and vegetables.

There is, of course, no reason to think that the points of identification with Carthage signify identification *as* Carthaginian on the part of those in communities such as Henchir el-Hami. Tophets, it should now be clear, do not act as markers for "Punicity" or any other specific, bounded, ethnic or cultural group, for individual dedicants or for the community as a whole.[113] Instead, their visual culture builds local community identity, at the level of the town or perhaps just the sanctuary. Identifications with Carthage were politically useful in the face of growing Roman power in Africa, suggesting communities' independence from Rome, and perhaps also from the Numidian kings, through a link with a third party that no longer presented a potential political threat in itself. It is striking that just as Carthaginian iconography is being adopted in the tophets, so are Carthaginian offices in the cities.[114]

These later African sanctuaries operate in a very similar way to the tophet at Carthage then, making identifications with a variety of useful sources of social, cultural, and political capital, without imitating them and without identifying as them. Instead, in both cases these identifications shape and consolidate their own cultural identity as communities, especially at times of external threat that required strong communities with powerful allies at a discursive as well as practical level: cultural identity, in these sanctuaries as everywhere else, was a means to other ends rather than an end in itself.

Notes

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1. Diod. 20.14.1–2; translations of Diodorus are adapted from Diodorus Siculus, *Diodorus of Sicily,* vol. 10, trans. Russel M. Geer (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1954).
2. Justin 18.4.15; on which, see Corinne Bonnet, "Le culte de Melqart à Carthage: Un cas de conservatisme religieux," in Corinne Bonnet, Edward Lipiński, and Patrick Marchetti, eds., *Religio Phoenicia* (Namur: Société des Études Classiques, 1986), 212.

3. Justin 18.7.7.
4. Curt. Ruf. 4.3.22, noting that this was a common practice on the part of Carthage; and Diod. 13.108.4.
5. Arr. *Anab.* 2.24.5; Curt. Ruf. 4.2.10. On the *egersis,* see Joseph. *AJ* 8.146; and Corinne Bonnet, *Melqart: Cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée* (Leuven: Peeters, 1988).
6. Pol. 31.12.12; cf. Livy 33.48.3.
7. On Carthage in general, see M'hamed Hassine Fantar, *Carthage: Approche d'une civilisation* (Tunis: Alif, 1993); Serge Lancel, *Carthage: A History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); and Hédi Dridi, *Carthage et le monde punique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2006). On the mixed population, see Paolo Xella, "I Fenici e gli 'Altri': Dinamiche di identità culturale," in Marina Congiu et al., eds., *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV secolo a.C.* (Caltanissetta: Salvatore Sciasia, 2008), 76–78; and, in particular, Ahmed Ferjaoui, "Les femmes à Carthage à travers les documents épigraphiques," *Reppal* 11 (1999): 77–86.
8. Irad Malkin, "Herakles and Melqart: Greeks and Phoenicians in the Middle Ground," in Erich Gruen, ed., *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2005), 238–58, on Melqart, Herakles, and colonization; and Corinne Bonnet, *Melqart,* 166–67, on relations between Carthage and Tyre.
9. Diod. 20.14.4–6; cf. Lact. *Div.* 1.21.13. For another melodramatic description of the sacrificial rite, see Plut. *Mor.* 171c–d.
10. A suspiciously neat coincidence in Diodorus's account may in itself point to its artifice: he has the rite celebrated with unusual fervor under attack from the city of Syracuse, whose earlier tyrant Gelon had apparently demanded after the battle of Himera in 480 that the Carthaginians stop sacrificing their children (Plut. *Mor.* 175a, 552a; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.2).
11. Shelby Brown, *Late Carthaginian Child Sacrifice and Sacrifical Monuments in Their Mediterranean Context* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 21–26, is a convenient summary of the classical sources.
12. Tert. *Apol.* 9.2–4.
13. The name is the one used by modern scholars for these sites and is taken from references in the Hebrew Bible to a tophet in Jerusalem where people consecrated their sons and daughters through the fire and which was destroyed by King Josiah in the late seventh century (2 Kings 23.10; Jer. 7.31–2, 19.5–6); we do not know what, if anything, these sanctuaries were called by contemporaries.
14. The precise relationship between these markers and the cinerary urns is rarely clear.
15. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* [hereafter *CIS*] (Paris: E Reipublicae Typographeo, 1881–), I, 213.
16. It has become popular to dismiss the literary accounts as hostile Greco-Roman propaganda and to see these sites simply as special and especially sacred burial places for stillborn children and for those who did not survive infancy, with sacrifices an exception, if they happened at all. See the essay by Corinne Bonnet, this volume, 385 n. 1, for a comprehensive bibliography; and, in particular, Sergio Ribichini, *Il tofet e il sacrificio dei fanciulli* (Sassari: Chiarella, 1987); Sabatino Moscati and Sergio Ribichini, *Il sacrificio dei bambini: Un aggiornamento* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1991); and Sabatino Moscati, "Nuovi contributi sul 'sacrificio dei bambini,'" *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 9, no. 7 (1996): 499–504. This position is in my view hard to sustain, for reasons including the burial of children and animals in the same cemetery, often together and treated in the same way; the stark contrast between the votive inscriptions from the tophet and the funerary inscriptions found elsewhere; and the fact that the inscriptions often make it clear with formulae such as "because he heard his voice and blessed him" that the offering was made in return for a specific favor granted by the god, which is difficult to reconcile with the burial of children who happened to die young. More generally, it seems to me a useful methodological principle that when all the available literary sources agree on a phenomenon, and there is neither positive evidence against its existence nor any prima facie reason to doubt it (infanticide being unremarkable in the ancient Mediterranean, and human sacrifice by no means unknown), it is perverse to dismiss them; this is without considering the strong circumstantial evidence offered by the tophets themselves. The eagerly awaited publication of the 1970s American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) excavations at the Carthage tophet is expected to make a strong case for a sacrificial rather than funerary interpretation, preadvertised in Lawrence E. Stager, "The Rite of Child Sacrifice at Carthage," in John G. Pedley, ed., *New Light on Ancient Carthage* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1980), 1–11; Lawrence E. Stager, "A View from the Tophet," in Hans G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1982), 155–66; and Lawrence E. Stager and Samuel Woolf, "Child Sacrifice at Carthage: Religious Rite or Population Control?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 10 (1984): 30–51. For other statements of the traditional view and criticisms of the revisionist position, see Edward Lipiński, "Sacrifice d'enfants à Carthage et dans le monde sémitique oriental," in Edward Lipiński, ed., *Carthago* (Leuven: Peeters, 1988), 151–86; Brown, *Child Sacrifice;* Carlos Gonzalez Wagner, Luis Alberto Ruiz, and Victoria Peña, "Molk y Tofet: Aspectos de crítica metodológica," in *Actas del IV congreso internacional de estudios fenicios y púnicos* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2000), 2:613–18; Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "Le iscrizioni del *tofet:* Osservazioni sulle espressioni di offerta," in Carlos Gonzalez Wagner and Luis Alberto Ruiz Cabrero, eds., *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebraïschen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Fenicios & Punicos, 2002), 93–119; and Paolo Xella, "La religione fenicia e punica: Studi recenti e prospettive di ricerca," in Juan Pablo Vita and Jose Ángel Zamora, eds., *Nuevas Perpectivas I: La investigación fenicia y púnica* (Barcelona: Universidad Pompeu Fabra, 2006), 51–59. On the debate in general, see Cristiano Grottanelli, "Ideologie del sacrificio umano: Roma e Cartagine," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 1 (1999): 53–56; and Brien K. Garnand, "From Infant Sacrifice to the ABCs: Ancient Phoenicians and Modern Identities," *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 1 (2002): 4–14, available online at http://www.stanford.edu/dept/archaeology/journal/newdraft/garnand/paper.html.
17. Cf. the essay by Corinne Bonnet, this volume, pp. 373–87.
18. Hélène Bénichou-Safar, *Le tophet de Salammbô: Essai de reconstitution* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 2004), 98, 124.

19. The traditional foundation date of 814/813 (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.74.1) coincides closely with the latest carbon dating of the earliest evidence for settlement: Roald Docter, Fethi Chelbi, and Boutheina Maraoui Telmini, "Carthage Bir Massouda: Preliminary Report on the First Bilateral Excavations of Ghent University and the Institut National du Patrimoine (2002–2003)," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 78 (2003): 43–70; and Roald Docter et al., "Radiocarbon Dates of Animal Bones in the Earliest Levels of Carthage," *Mediterranea* 1 (2004 [2005]): 557–73.
20. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 126, notes that the Phoenician-style cinerary urns from the very earliest layers are of rather better quality than those from only slightly later contexts, suggesting that they were imported rather than locally made.
21. An attempt to identify a tophet at Tyre (Helga Seeden, "A tophet in Tyre?" *Berytus* 39 [1991]: 39–82; Janice Conheeney and Alan Pipe, "Note on Some Cremated Bone from Tyrian Cinerary Urns," *Berytus* 39 [1991]: 83–87; and Hélène Sader, "Phoenician Stelae from Tyre," *Berytus* 39 [1991]: 101–26) was comprehensively refuted by Sabatino Moscati, "Non è un *tofet* a Tiro," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 21 (1993): 147–51; Piero Bartoloni, "Considerazioni sul 'tofet' di Tiro," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 21 (1993): 153–56; and Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "Osservazioni sulle stele iscritte di Tiro," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 21 (1993): 157–63. Inter alia, the cremated remains were of adults, not children. The same is true of cremation burials at Akhziv. Suggestions that a cemetery at Amathus (Cyprus) is a tophet have also been disputed on the grounds that the cemetery contains the remains of adults as well as children and animals: see Demos Christou, "Cremations in the Western Necropolis of Amathus," in Vassos Karageorghis and Nikolaos Stampolidis, eds., *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th–6th Cent. B.C.* (Athens: University of Crete & the A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1998), 207–15; and Anagnostis Agelarakis, Athanasia Kanta, and Nikolaos Stampolidis, "The Osseous Record in the Western Necropolis of Amathus and Archeo-Anthropological Investigation," in Vassos Karageorghis and Nikolaos Stampolidis, eds., *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th–6th Cent. B.C.* (Athens: University of Crete & the A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1998), 217–32.
22. Edward Lipiński, "Les racines syro-phéniciennes de la religion carthaginoise," *CEDAC Carthage* 8 (1987): 35–38; Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), 246–48; Francesca Stavrakopoulou, *King Manasseh and Child Sacrifice: Biblical Distortions of Historical Realities* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 141–299; and Armin Lange, "They Burn Their Sons and Daughters—That Was No Command of Mine," in Karin Finsterbusch, Armin Lange, and K. F. Diethard Römheld, eds., *Human Sacrifice in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 109–32. In addition to the description of the tophet discussed in note 13, we are told that God commanded the Israelites more generally not to burn their children (Lev. 18.21) and that a king of Moab burned his oldest son as a sacrifice on the city wall when he was attacked by the Israelites (2 Kings 3.27).
23. Curt. Ruf. 4.3.23.
24. Ory Amitay suggests "Carthaginian influence" here on Tyre: Ory Amitay, "Why Did Alexander the Great Besiege Tyre?" *Athenaeum* 96 (2008): 101.

25. Thanks to Matthew Nicholls for pointing this out to me.
26. Jean Ferron, "Importants travaux de restauration ou d'agrandissement et d'embellissement au Tophet de Carthage à partir de la fin du Vè siècle avant l'ère," *Reppal* 9 (1995): 73–91.
27. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 98–99.
28. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 153.
29. Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Per una reconsiderazione del tofet," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 2 (1979): 140–45.
30. Cf. Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in Jonathan Rutherford, *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 222: "instead of thinking of identity as an already established fact which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation." "Cultural identity" is admittedly often of limited use as a conceptual tool. The notion of a single and relatively homogeneous identity attached to a particular "culture," often ethnically defined, is for the most part a modern phenomenon, a concomitant of the bounded nation-state (Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies of Identity* [Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1996]). I use it here, however, not in this national or ethnic sense, but to specify identities built through culture, through human action and reaction.
31. Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), among many other examples.
32. Hall, "Cultural Identity," 226.
33. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 2.
34. Some now suggest that the tophet continued to be used for a generation after the destruction; see Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 134–37.
35. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 28–33.
36. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 36–37, noting that markers may also have been made of wood in the earliest period; see pp. 175–90 for a schematic typology and summary of the types, and also Piero Bartoloni, "Le più antiche stele di Cartagine," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 50 (1977–78): 43–54, for a well-illustrated discussion of the various sandstone forms.
37. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 68–70.
38. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 81–86. It is to be noted that the usage of *cippi* and *stelai* (or *stelae*) in the scholarly literature does not conform to commonly agreed definitions, and that many scholars use the latter term to cover what some would distinguish as *cippi* as well. *Marker* is the imperfect term that I adopt here in order to avoid confusion: these monuments are of course more than simply markers.
39. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 101–4.
40. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 188.
41. Piero Bartoloni, *Le stele arcaiche del Tofet di Cartagine* (Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1976).
42. Brown, *Child Sacrifice.* It should be noted that among other partial catalogs, the first volume of *CIS* includes approximately 4,500 inscriptions from the tophet, but the focus is naturally epigraphic, and images are very rare.

43. These are often, and probably wrongly, referred to as baetyls; on the problem of the terminology and the scholarly tendency to overdiagnose aniconism in the Near East, see Milette Gaifman, "The Aniconic Image of the Roman Near East," in Ted Kaizer, ed., *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 37–72. The imperial sources for dressed stones in Levantine temples are summarized most usefully in Eugene D. Stockton, "Phoenician Cult Stones," *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* (1974–75): 4–14; more recently and with a wider geographic scope, see Peter Stewart, "Baetyls as Statues? Cult Images in the Roman Near East," in Yaron Eliav, Elise Friedland, and Sharon Herbert, eds., *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 293–310.
44. Sader, "Phoenician Stelae"; Hélène Sader, "Phoenician Stelae from Tyre (continued)," *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici* 9 (1992): 53–79; revisited in Hélène Sader, *Iron Age Funerary Stelae from Lebanon* (Barcelona: Laboratorio de Arqueología de la Universidad Pompeu Fabra de Barcelona, 2005).
45. Moshe Prausnitz, "Akhziv (North)," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 4 (1985): 2.
46. Vassos Karageorghis, "Fouilles de Kition," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 94 (1970): 251–52.
47. Hdt. 2.44.
48. Sader, *Funerary Stelae,* cat. nos. 7 (naiskos, ninth/eighth century), 12 (L-shape, eighth/seventh century), and 43 (naiskos, undated). Simple naiskoi are also found at the Temple of the Obelisks at Byblos.
49. Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Il *tofet* e le stele," in Stefano Bruni, Teresa Caruso, and Morella Massa, eds., *Archaeologia Pisana: Scritti per Orlanda Pancrazzi* (Pisa: Giardini, 2004), 22–25, for the Egyptianizing trend in this period.
50. Anna Maria Bisi, "Un naiskos tardo-fenicio del museo di Beyrut e il problema dell'origine dei cippi egittizzanti nel mondo punico," *Antiquités Africaines* 5 (1971): 26; cf. Annie Caubet, "Remarques sur les Fouilles du Dr Georges Contenau à Helalieh et Ayaa (Sidon)," *National Museum News* 10 (1999): 13.
51. This symbol is by no means certainly linked to or a representation of the goddess Tinnit discussed below.
52. Summary of examples and bibliography in Edward Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 211–13.
53. Sabatino Moscati, "Due stele di Mozia," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei,* ser. 8, 21 (1966): 198–99.
54. As Gaifman, "The Aniconic Image," points out, the term *baetyl* can be misleading, especially when applied indiscriminately to any kind of aniconic object or monument found in the Near East. I reserve it here specifically for the iconographic motif resembling a pillar.
55. Summary and bibliography in Edward Lipiński, ed., *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 70–71; see also Hélène Sader, *Funerary Stelae,* cat. no. 54; pace 120–22, cat. nos. 15, 24, 28, 29, and 35, seem much less easy to identify as baetyls and certainly have nothing in common with the versions found on sandstone markers at Carthage.
56. Hédi Dridi, "À propos du signe dit de la bouteille," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 32 (2004): 9–24, on the chronology of the bottle idol and attempts at interpretation. On the chronology and (more briefly) interpretation of the lozenge motif, see Pascuale Francesco Ruiu, "Per una rilettura del motivo a losanga in ambito votivo feniciopunico," in *Actas del IV congreso internacional de estudios fenicios y púnicos* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2000), 2:669–73.
57. Sabatino Moscati, "Una stela di Akziv," *Rendiconti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei,* ser. 8, 20 (1965): 239–41.
58. Hall, "Cultural Identity," 226–27.
59. Corinne Bonnet-Tzavellas, "Le dieu Melqart en Phénicie et dans le bassin méditeranéen: Un culte national et officiel," in E. Gubel, Edward Lipiński, and B. Servais-Soyez, eds., *Histoire Phénicienne/Fenicische Geschiedenis* (Leuven: Peeters, 1983), 195–207, esp. 200–202; and Bonnet, "Le culte de Melqart," 214–15, where Melqart's less important position in the Carthaginian pantheon is linked to the choice of republican political forms at Carthage, since at Tyre the god was closely related to the representation and function of royal power. See also Bonnet, *Melqart,* 167–86.
60. Although the name of this goddess has traditionally been vocalized as Tanit, two Greek inscriptions from the sanctuary at Cirta discussed below transliterate the name as Θινιθ and Θεννειθ: André Berthier and l'Abbé René Charlier, *Le sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra à Constantine* (Paris: Arts & Métiers Graphiques, 1955), 167 (1GR) and 169 (3GR).
61. Paolo Xella, *Baal Hammon: Recherches sur l'identité et l'histoire d'un dieu phénico-punique* (Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1991), 34–42, for a survey of Baal Hammon's appearances in the East. He appears first in a late-ninth-century inscription from Zinjirli in southeast Anatolia and then on an amulet from Tyre that Pierre Bordreuil dates by letter forms to the sixth century (Pierre Bordreuil, "Attestations inédites de Melqart, Baal Hammon et Baal Saphon à Tyr," in Corinne Bonnet, Edward Lipiński, and Patrick Marchetti, eds., *Religio Phoenicia* [Namur: Société des Études Classiques, 1986], 82–86). He is also found as an element in personal names in Phoenicia and neighboring regions from the eleventh to the sixth centuries. Pierre Bordreuil, "Tanit du Liban," in Edward Lipiński, ed., *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millenium* B.C. (Leuven: Peeters, 1987), 80–82, lists Tinnit's small number of appearances in the East. These include her famous invocation as "Tinit of Astarte" in a seventh- to sixth-century inscription from Sarepta (on which see also James B. Pritchard, "The Tanit Inscription from Sarepta," in Hans Georg Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen* [Mainz am Rhein: Zabern, 1982], 83–92; it is to be noted that according to 1 Kings 17.9, Sarepta was dependent on Sidon). She also appears as a component of fifth-century Sidonian proper names (to which one might add a Tyrian example of apparently seventh- to sixth-century date [Sader, *Funerary Stelae,* cat. no. 13; cf. Amadasi Guzzo, "Osservazioni," esp. 161]).
62. *CIS* I, 3914. For interpretation and bibliography, see Bordreuil, "Tanit," 79–80.
63. Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Aspetti delle relazioni tra la Fenicia e le colonie d'Occidente in età persiana," *Transeuphratène* 12 (1996): 73–83.
64. Giovanni Tore, "L'art: Sarcophages, relief, stèles," in Véronique Krings, ed., *La civilisation phénicienne et punique: Manuel de recherche* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 477–79, on the well-known stele of Amrit (sixth century; see Serena Maria Cecchini, "La stele

de Amrit: Aspetti e problemi iconografici e iconologici," *Contributi e materiali di archeologia orientale* 7 [1997]: 83–100) and Yehawmilk (fifth century), to which add the late-eighth-century stele of Sargon II from Kition on Cyprus and the fourth- to second-century funerary stelai from Umm el-Amed. See Veronica Wilson, "The Kouklia Sanctuary," *Report of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus* (1974): pl. xxi, figs. 6, 7, for stelai dating to the fifth century or earlier on Cyprus.

65. For a general overview, Hans Möbius, *Die ornamente der griechischen grabstelen: Klassischer und nachklassischer zeit* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1968).
66. The undated stele from Akhziv mentioned above has the same feature. An undated funerary stele from Burg esh-Shemali near Tyre depicts pillars inside a naiskos with columns and an architrave; see Maurice Chehab, "Trois stèles trouvées en Phénicie," *Berytus* 1 (1934): 46, for an attempt to date it to the Hellenistic period, with Anna Maria Bisi, *Le stele puniche* (Roma: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1967), 38–40.
67. The percentages given here do not take into account cases where the relevant part of the stele is or may be missing; see Brown, *Child Sacrifice,* 187–88. This has undoubtedly led to undercounting but should not significantly affect the relative proportions.
68. Brown, *Child Sacrifice,* 136–37; and Carole Mendleson, *Catalogue of Punic Stelae in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 2003), 8.
69. Brown, *Child Sacrifice,* 134; and Mendleson, *Punic Stelae.*
70. Edward Lipiński, "Le 'caducée,'" in *3e congrès international des études phéniciennes et puniques* (Tunis: Institut National de Patrimoine, 1995), 203–9.
71. See, for example, Jacques Alexandropoulos, *Les monnaies de l'Afrique antique: 400 av. J.-C.–40 ap. J.-C.* (Toulouse: Presses Univ. du Mirail, 2000), pt. I, cat. nos. 46, 57–59, 63, 88, and 91.
72. There are a very few examples on Sardinia and Sicily. For one at Tharros, see Sabatino Moscati and Maria Luisa Uberti, *Scavi al tofet di Tharros: I monumenti lapidei* (Roma: Consiglio Nazionale di Ricerche, 1985), no. 133; for two examples from Lilybaeum on Sicily, where finds of markers point to the presence of an as-yet unidentified tophet, see Bisi, *Le stele puniche,* 151–54, and Brown, *Child Sacrifice,* 300 (fig. 58, c and d).
73. See Stuart Hall's comment quoted on p. 390 above; points of identification in this period are unstable.
74. For examples and discussion, see Brown, *Child Sacrifice,* 142–43.
75. Cf. Matthew McCarty, "Beyond Models and Diffusion, Centres and Peripheries: Art in Roman Africa," in *Proceedings of the 11th International Colloquium on Roman Provincial Art* (forthcoming).
76. Josephine Crawley Quinn, "North Africa," in Andrew Erskine, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Ancient History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 260–72; and Elizabeth Fentress, "Strangers in the City: Elite Communication in the Hellenistic Central Mediterranean," in Jonathan Prag and Josephine Crawley Quinn, eds., *The Hellenistic West* (forthcoming). There are other importations from Greek cities in Carthage in the Hellenistic period, including the design of coinage and the cult of Demeter and Kore. The extent to which this amounts to "Hellenization" is much debated; see Corinne Bonnet, "Identité et altérité religieuses: À propos de l'hellénisation de Carthage," *Pallas* 70 (2006): 365–79.

77. Hall, "Cultural Identity," 235. Cf. Daniel Boyarin and Jonathan Boyarin, "Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Diaspora," *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 4 (1993): 721: "Diasporic cultural identity teaches us that cultures are not preserved by being protected from 'mixing' but probably can only continue to exist as a result of such mixing. Cultures, as well as identities, are constantly being remade."
78. *CIS* I, 879, 4771, 4772, 5521. On the origins of Carthaginian women more generally, see Ahmed Ferjaoui, "Les femmes à Carthage à travers les documents épigraphiques," *Reppal* 11 (1999): 77–86.
79. *CIS* I, 4910.
80. *CIS* I, 3839, 4723, 4724.
81. *CIS* I, 191.
82. Justin 18.5.
83. *CIS* I, 3778.
84. I owe this suggestion to Angelos Chaniotis, who has also drawn my attention to a Hellenistic-period genealogical inscription on a grave marker from Hierapytna on Crete, where the writer explicitly states that the first person named was present at the founding of the city (Margherita Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* [Roma: Liberia dello Stato, 1935–50], III.8); the phenomenon is equivalent to the claim that one's ancestors were on the *Mayflower.*
85. Jonathan Prag, "Poenus Plane Est—But Who Were the 'Punickes'?" *Papers of the British School at Rome* 74 (2006): 1–37; and Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West,* 6–13, for a fuller account of the various corporate identities imposed on the Phoenicians from the outside. It is sometimes suggested that those we call Phoenicians saw themselves as "Canaanite," not least since Augustine reports Punic-speaking people in fifth-century C.E. Africa calling themselves "Chanani," which he understands to mean "Canaanite" (*Ep. ad Rom. inchoata expositio,* 13). However, although this is a term applied to Levantine peoples in the Hebrew Bible, there is no other evidence for self-identification as Canaanite, and so we might suspect him of learned optimism.
86. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 80.
87. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 102; compare her plates xl and xlv.
88. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 103.
89. Brown, *Child Sacrifice,* 82–89, 108, 113–16, 174. She divides her sample into 410 thick and 202 thin markers. The Sign of Tanit appears on 71 percent of thin stele and 40 percent of thick ones; the caduceus on 53 percent and 30 percent, respectively; the crescent-disk on 43 percent and 17 percent; the hand on 46 percent and 25 percent.
90. Brown, *Child Sacrifice,* 116.
91. Josephine Crawley Quinn, "Roman Africa?" in Jonathan Prag and Andrew Merryweather, eds., "Romanization?" *Digressus,* supplement 1 (2003): 13–14; available at www.digressus.org/articles/romanizationpp007-034-crawleyquinn.pdf.
92. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 192.
93. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 84–85.
94. Ahmed Ferjaoui, "Fonctions et métiers de la Carthage punique à travers les inscriptions," *Reppal* 6 (1991): 71–94. On the social status of the women who sacrifice, see Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "Dédicaces de femmes à Carthage," in Edward

Lipiński, ed., *Carthago* (Leuven: Peeters 1987), 147–48; and Ferjaoui, "Les femmes à Carthage," 82.

95. Bénichou-Safar, *Salammbô,* 105–6, with 115 and 118.
96. Lancel, *Carthage,* 117–20; Polybius claims that by the later third century the voice of the people had become predominant in the city's deliberations (6.51).
97. Preliminary results of a survey of almost 900 square kilometers in a radius of about 30 kilometers around the city: Joseph A. Greene, "Une reconnaissance archéologique dans l'arrière-pays de la Carthage antique," in Abdelmajid Ennabli, ed., *Pour sauver Carthage: Exploration et conservation de la cité punique, romaine et byzantine* (Paris: UNESCO/INAA, 1992), 195–97; and Joseph A. Greene and Dennis P. Kehoe, "Mago the Carthaginian," in *Actes du IIIe congrès international des études phéniciennes et puniques, Tunis* (Tunis: Institut National de Patrimoine, 1995), 114–15. For methodological problems with this survey, see Quinn, "Roman Africa?" 12 n. 23.
98. Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2004), 324–35; and Jonathan Prag, "Ancient Perceptions of Punicity," in Josephine Crawley Quinn and Nicholas Vella, eds., *Identifying the Punic Mediterranean* (forthcoming).
99. Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–58), 137 F9 (vol. IIB, p. 745); and Michel Gras, Pierre Rouillard, and Javier Texidor, *L'univers phénicien* (Paris: Arthaud, 1989), 177.
100. Hall, "Cultural Identity," 226.
101. Justin 18.6.
102. Ferjaoui, "Les femmes à Carthage," 78–79, for many examples of Libyan names found on the tophet inscriptions.
103. Compare Stuart Hall's discussion of the way in which the indigenous "présence" in the Caribbean amounts only to a space of encounter for the African and European "présences": "Cultural Identity," 234.
104. On the history and problems of this model, see David Mattingly, "Vulgar and Weak 'Romanization' or Time for a Paradigm Shift?" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15 (2002): 536–40; Josephine Crawley Quinn, "Roman Africa?"; and José Luis López Castro, "The Western Phoenicians under the Roman Republic: Integration and Persistance," in Peter van Dommelen and Nicola Terrenato, eds., *Articulating Local Cultures: Power and Identity under the Expanding Roman Republic* (Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2007), 103–5.
105. Alia Krandel-Ben Younès, *La présence punique en pays numide* (Tunis: Institut National de Patrimoine, 2002), surveys the Tunisian and Algerian sanctuaries, to which could be added Volubilis in Morocco and Msallata, Tharuna, Gheran, and Sabratha in Tripolitania. For a holistic approach to the Tunisian and Algerian sanctuaries, see Maurice Le Glay, *Saturne Africain* (Paris: Arts & Métiers Graphiques, 1961–66); and now Matthew McCarty, "Votive Stelae, Religion and Cultural Change in Africa Proconsularis and Numidia, 200 BC–AD 300" (PhD, University of Oxford, 2010), as well as Matthew McCarty, "Representation and the 'Meanings' of Ritual Change: The Case of Hadrumetum," in Angelos Chaniotis, ed., *Rituals and Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean: Changes and Agents* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Beiträge & Epigraphische Studien, forthcoming).

106. Quinn, "Roman Africa?"; and Quinn, "North Africa."
107. For a survey of various differences between the African sanctuaries, Ahmed Ferjaoui, *Le sanctuaire de Henchir el-Hami* (Tunis: Institut National de Patrimoine, 2007), 64–75.
108. Moscati and Ribichini, *Il sacrificio dei bambini,* 28.
109. Ferjaoui, *Henchir el-Hami.* The current Italian-Tunisian excavation of the tophet at Althiburos promises equally interesting results.
110. Ferjaoui, *Henchir el-Hami,* 129–30 with 112; the son here has a Punic name.
111. Ferjaoui, *Henchir el-Hami,* 114, comparing Henchir el-Hami to Carthage: "les gestes sacrificiels accomplis demeurent identiques. On passait l'offrande par le feu, on mettait les ossements dans les urnes votives et on les enfouissait en terre" (The sacrifical activities carried out remain identical. The offering is passed through the fire, the remains are placed in votive urns and these are buried in the earth).
112. It is also interesting to note the social variation that the markers suggest to the excavators: the rough execution of the urns and the simple clothing of human figures depicted on the stelai suggests that the sanctuary was "frequenté essentiellement par le petit peuple" (frequented mainly by the lower classes), while the fine execution of some of the stelai suggests that there were also "propriétaires . . . de la classe aisée" (wealthy proprietors): Ferjaoui, *Henchir el-Hami,* 113.
113. There are, of course, plenty of references in the inscriptions from the Carthage tophet to the dedicants' various ethnic and (much more usually) civic identities (see CIS I, 294–311, and above for some examples); these are in addition to these individuals' communal and class-based identities I discuss here.
114. Quinn, "North Africa," 270–71.